

Review

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BOOK REVIEWS 127

emphasis to the brilliant analysis by Miriam Beard who, with scholarship and wit, destroys the myth, introduced by Werner Sombart, of the specifically Jewish disposition toward financial predominance, and of the Jewish origin of capitalism.

Princeton, N. J.

ERICH KAHLER

FORD, CLELLAN S. Smoke from Their Fires, the Life of a Kwakiutl Chief. [Published for the Institute of Human Relations.] New Haven: Yale University Press. 1941. xiii & 248 pp., 4 illustrations. \$3.

This autobiography ranks with Radin's Crashing Thunder and Dyk's Son of Old Man Hat as an outstandingly useful personal-history document from a non-literate culture. There are, to be sure, other useful materials in this field. Underhill's Autobiography of a Papago Woman, for example, is excellent as far as it goes. But, by comparison with Smoke from Their Fires, the Papago woman's life story seems meagre and fragmentary. The life of Ford's informant has full amplitude of detail. We could wish that the narrator had been slightly more expansive with respect to those calmer, less dramatic periods which actually make up the bulk of the seventy years he covers. But the critical events of childhood, sexual experience and the death of those near and dear, and the episodes defined by the culture as crucially important, are dealt with richly. As always, the culture becomes much clearer to the outsider when it is seen from the secure vantage point of an individual life. Thus the potlatch of the northwest coast no longer seems an excessively complicated and rather unreal maze of economic rituals; seen from the eyes of a Kwakiutl chief, it makes sense.

A few comparisons, necessarily impressionistic, with the publications of Radin and Dyk will help to place general reactions in focus. Ford's introductory chapter gives a digest of Kwakiutl culture which for compactness, sharpness, sanity and accuracy (so far as the reviewer is able to judge of this) is altogether admirable. Indeed, in anthropological literature only Murdock's pictures in *Our Primitive Contemporaries* can be compared with it. Nevertheless it is the reviewer's feeling that this chapter, for all the skill and scrupulousness that went into it, remains somewhat at the level of the sketch of the Scythians by Herodotus, who had never been in Scythia. One misses that sense of direct, "intuitive" grasp of the native point of view which is so marked a feature of Radin's work.

It is my impression that the material presented in Smoke from Their Fires is not so sensitive or so suggestive of psychological subtleties as that

in Son of Old Man Hat. This reaction may well arise primarily out of my greater familiarity with Navaho culture. If it does have a more solid foundation in fact, it may be a resultant of the differing personalities of the two informants-or of those of the investigators. Over Dyk's work Ford's has, however, two very considerable advantages: Ford did not have to work through an interpreter; and he provides not only his "Introduction to Kwakiutl Society" but also a series of unobtrusive, yet highly pointed, notes to the autobiographical document itself. At times the reviewer wished for a more extensive interpretation and analysis, but the brevity undoubtedly has great advantages. The notes are uniformly sensible, and have a consistent theoretical orientation—essentially that of the rapprochement between psychoanalysis and stimulus-response learning theory which the staff of the Institute of Human Relations has worked out in very recent years. A concluding chapter or two which systematically drew together the inferences permitted by the data, both for the study of culture and for the study of individual psychology, would have enormously enhanced the significance of the book. But this is unquestionably the most adequately analyzed life history of a "primitive" which has yet appeared.

From the point of view of method the reviewer has one major complaint. The manner in which the material was obtained is not specified in sufficient detail. To what extent were specific questions asked, and what was the nature of these questions? Internal evidence suggests that Ford saw to it that the narrator covered certain topics which Ford judged to be of primary importance. It would be most helpful to know how many questions were asked on certain sample working days, and to have a precise list of these questions. What were working conditions? Were ethnographer and informant alone? Where did they work? Did they work fairly regular hours during an unbroken succession of days? Were the informant's motivations, so far as this could be ascertained, almost entirely economic? How was the approach made to him in the first instance? With what informal behaviors did he respond to various questions or to comments which may have been made by the investigator? In general, the part played by the ethnographer in obtaining the material has been almost entirely neglected.

This book represents an important advance on one of the principal frontiers of anthropological and psychological knowledge. But the presentation still leaves a great deal to be desired from the point of view of method.

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